GDR AND AFRICA
ALLIES IN STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

Record of visit by His Excellency
Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule to the
German Democratic Republic,
23–28 May 1983

NOTE

His Excellency Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to the United Nations, visited the German Democratic Republic from 23 to 28 May 1983 to participate in the observances of the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples in Southern Africa, Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Human Rights and to consult with the Government and organizations in the GDR on further action against apartheid.

He was accompanied by Enuga S. Reddy, Assistant Secretary-General for the United Nations Centre against Apartheid.

During the visit, Ambassador Maitama-Sule held consultations, among others, with:

Mr. Horst Sindermann, President of the People's Chamber,
Mr. Kurt Seibt, President of the Solidarity Committee,
Mr. Oskar Fischer, Minister of Foreign Affairs,
Mr. Werner Kirchhoff, Vice-Chairman of the Committee for the Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,
Professor Dr. Lothar Rathmann, Rector of Karl Marx University, Leipzig.

He addressed solidarity meetings at the Otto Nelte Secondary School in Berlin and Karl Marx University in Leipzig.

He also visited several cultural centres and places of political importance in the GDR. Extracts from some of the statements made during this mission are reproduced in this pamphlet.

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I. TOAST BY MR. OSKAR FISCHER, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, AT A LUNCHEON IN HONOUR OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, 24 MAY 1983

For the German Democratic Republic, your visit, Mr. Chairman, is an expression of esteem for our policy aimed at peace and security for all peoples. Resolute struggle against racism and apartheid is a part of that policy. Thus, the GDR supports with all its might the activities of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

We note with great satisfaction that the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid have done a great deal and spared no trouble in fighting for the final and total eradication of racism and apartheid. The die-hard forces we face in this struggle stick obstinately to the ideology and practice of racism and apartheid, which constitute important pillars for them in the inhuman system of exploitation and oppression, which is sustained by the most brutal methods.

Upon assuming the chairmanship of the Special Committee against Apartheid, you, Mr. Ambassador, said in September 1981: "Racism is not simply a moral issue. I believe that it remains the source of the greatest danger to international peace and security." The German Democratic Republic fully agrees to this.

The latest brutal attack by South African war planes, which used bombs and rockets against the peaceful civilian population of Mozambique, proves what unscrupulous crimes the racist régime is prepared to commit. The German Democratic Republic most strongly condemns this new act of aggression and reiterates its solidarity with the fighting peoples in Southern Africa.

In their Political Declaration adopted in Prague in January this year, the Warsaw Treaty States again issued an earnest admonition that to eliminate the causes of peace-imperilling conflicts it is necessary to eradicate,once and for all, all remnants

of colonialism and racism and to renounce the policy of neo-colonialism and of oppression and exploitation of other nations. Solving this task requires, first and foremost, purposeful and combined efforts by all peace-loving and progressive people.

We are aware of the high responsibility which rests both with the Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid to discharge their duties in the struggle against racism and apartheid. These bodies have contributed effectively towards exposing South Africa's policy of apartheid. Their efforts are aimed at ensuring the concrete and consistent implementation of resolutions directed against apartheid.

As regards the GDR's participation in the fight against racism in all its forms, I can declare most definitely that it will also in the future take part in defending the just cause of the African peoples, indeed of all peoples subjected to racism and exploitation and to imperialism's policy of threats and resort to force.

To practise solidarity is a heartfelt concern of the people of the German Democratic Republic. The high esteem which this attitude has gained the socialist German State in Africa and on other continents is a constant incentive for us in this fight.

Excellency, during your visit you will see for yourselves that behind our attitude is the firm will and practical action of millions of people from all walks of life. And this will remain so, as long as human beings are oppressed and exploited in the world.

II. REPLY TO TOAST BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AT THE LUNCHEON HOSTED BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

I would like to congratulate you, the Minister of Foreign

Affairs, - and through you the Government and the people of the GDR - on the centenary of Karl Marx.

I have often wondered why the GDR is so committed and so consistent on support to the liberation struggles in Africa and so totally uncompromising on racism.

The answer is, of course, that you are inspired by the teachings and the prophetic vision of Karl Marx.

Much has been written about Marx and his teachings. If the writings of his followers will fill a library, the writings of those who dispute, attack and malign him are even more voluminous.

I can hardly claim to be an expert on Karl Marx and what I say may be naive. I believe that one does not understand him unless one realizes that he was essentially a humanitarian, who hated iniquitous systems rather than the people involved, and had a vision of a just society in which all the people will live in peace and harmony. I find it significant that you have devoted your conference on Karl Marx last month to the theme of peace and social justice.

More than a century ago, in the Communist Manifesto, Karl Marx wrote of the specter haunting Europe - the specter of Communism. Today, many nations have accepted Communism as their ideology in a large part of the world - and not only in Europe. The teachings of Marx have had a great influence on many others, especially on national liberation movements and others fighting for justice.

Communism is no more a mere specter. Yet, some people continue to use Communism as a bogy rather than a reality to live with and deal with.

Have we not seen constant attacks on national liberation movements of Africa as Communist or Communist-inspired? As if it needs Communist inspiration to fight for one's own freedom from domination and exploitation, and to seek to build a just

society in which all people will have equal rights and opportunities.

We know the game and we are not fooled.

If Communist countries support the liberation struggles, we are deeply grateful to them, and we encourage them to do even more. If Communists make sacrifices in the struggles for freedom of Africa, we pay tribute to them with no hesitations.

We cannot be distracted by the propaganda of those who have done little to help us in our difficult struggles and even collaborated with our enemies.

We need all the friends we can have in the struggle for emancipation of Africa and we cannot allow anybody to sow divisions.

We know that Braam Fischer, an eminent Afrikaner jurist, who died of persecution in South Africa, was a Communist. It was the ideology of Communism which inspired him, although he was from a very privileged group, to identify himself with the just struggle of the black people. The Special Committee paid tribute to that great African martyr. I have myself, as Chairman of the Special Committee, paid tribute last year to Ruth First, another Communist, who made a great contribution to the struggle for liberation in South Africa and who was assassinated in Maputo.

The liberation movement in South Africa must include all those who detest apartheid, irrespective of their ideologies, religious or other differences. To instigate divisions within that movement is a disservice to the cause of freedom. Similarly, the solidarity movement should include all governments, organizations and individuals who are committed to freedom, irrespective of any other differences.

I have spoken of the centenary of an eminent son of Germany. This year is also a half-centenary of an event which you will not celebrate and I will not celebrate.For it was in 1933 that Adolf

Hitler came to power with an ungodly and inhuman ideology which led to a ghastly World War and the killing of tens of millions of people in Europe, starting first of all in Germany itself. If he hated the Poles or Russians as inferior races, he hated Africans and Asians even more. We were spared the holocaust because of his defeat in Europe. Hitler and his Nazis were able to come to power because the good people were divided.

That is why in dealing with apartheid in South Africa - which is a combination of primitive slavery and sophisticated barbarity of Nazism - I attach utmost importance to the unity and concerted action of all those opposed to racism, Communist or Socialist, Liberal or Conservative or whatever ideology one might profess.

Speaking here in the very heart of Europe, I cannot but express concern over the grave international tension, the uncontrollable arms race and the amassing of nuclear armaments. Europe may be the centre of nuclear stockpiling, but this arms race concerns the entire world. It is not a numbers game, or even any political or military strategy for defined purposes, but a madness that endangers the survival of humanity and civilization.

That is why the Non-aligned Movement - which includes the African Continent- gives utmost priority to disarmament and peace.

We are also concerned at the repercussions of this global tension on the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. This tension regrettably persuades some influential people in the major Western Powers to draw closer to the inhuman racist régime in South Africa. It has acquired nuclear capability - which fortunately the Nazi régime could not - thanks to the collaboration of its friends, and poses a mortal danger to Africa.

Africa seeks the friendship of all nations. But on the issue of our freedom and dignity, we cannot but be firm and uncompromising. We cannot take lightly the actions of those who assist

and enable the racist régime in Pretoria to blackmail Africa. We cannot but be as stubborn as Martin Luther, whose five hundredth anniversary you are observing in your country this year.

I understand that it has been a tradition for every new Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid to visit the GDR. But I regard my visit as neither routine nor ceremonial.

I hope to have thorough consultations with you on action during this very critical period in southern Africa.

Although the situation today is very grim, I believe that we can overcome the problems by consultation, cooperation and determined effort.

I am an optimist.
Sanity will prevail in the end.
Humanity will prevail.
And South Africa will be free.

III. STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AT A SOLIDARITY FUNCTION IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL IN THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR, BERLIN, 24 MAY 1983

I am deeply moved today to meet with the students here, in the heart of Europe, expressing solidarity with the youth in far away countries.

This world of ours can be a happy, beautiful and exciting planet. It has immense resources. It has people of many colours, languages and cultures, who have built distinct civilizations. With the mastery over science and nature which mankind has achieved, and the great development of communications, all of us could be enriched by the variety of resources and cultures in the world - if only we could live in peace and develop human solidarity and international cooperation.

But greed and selfishness have induced people to use science

and technology to oppress, exploit and humiliate their fellow human beings. Many nations were subjected to slavery, colonialism and racist domination. Africa, in particular, has suffered most of all from this inhumanity.

The greed to dominate and exploit others led to wars among the dominant nations themselves. Two world wars in this century have caused untold destruction.

After the last war, unleashed by Nazism, we hoped that a new and just world order would be created. But many nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America were forced to fight and sacrifice to achieve independence. That task is not yet complete. Racist domination continues in South Africa and Namibia and the black people of those countries are subjected to untold persecution and repression.

Even the independent States are being subjected to pressure and threats.

Hundreds of millions of people suffer from deprivation and want.

Half the children in the developing countries receive no education or fail to complete primary education.

Over a hundred million children suffer from acute malnutrition.

In Africa and Asia alone, half a million women die every year during child-bearing, leaving a million children motherless.

800 million people suffer from diseases caused by impure water or water-bred insects.

The majority of people in the poor countries do not have access to safe water.

This is a shame.

At the same time, the arms race has gone beyond any bounds and

poses a grave threat to humanity. In the ancient times, perhaps wars were sometimes unavoidable. They might even have been a test of prowess. There were some rules to restrain combatants. But today, war is cowardly, insane and utterly inhuman.

To throw bombs from a height of tens of thousands of metres to kill men, women and children indiscriminately; to spread poison over large areas; or to start a nuclear war - cannot be human.

Humanity must end oppression and want. It must impose total disarmament and abolish war forever. Nobody should be allowed to profit from racism or the arms race.

This can only be done by true human solidarity.

I have come to your country to commend your Government and people for their support to African peoples in their just struggles for freedom. I have learnt with greatest satisfaction what is being done to see that from their very childhood, the people of this country grow up with a detestation of racism, with a spirit of solidarity and with an attachment to peace.

I commend the leaders of this country, and I salute the young pioneers. I will be most happy to convey your sentiments to the students of my own country.

Solidarity is not a one-way street. As you know, our newly-independent countries, united in the non-aligned movement, yearn for peace. Peace and brotherhood are our common concerns - and to achieve them, we must make our respective contributions.

I thank you for your solidarity - on behalf of Africa - and I assure you that my continent will surely find ways to reciprocate your friendship and love.

IV. ADDRESS BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AT THE SOLIDARITY MEETING AT KARL MARX UNIVERSITY, LEIPZIG, 27MAY 1983

I have felt it most appropriate that I should observe the twentieth anniversary of Africa Liberation Day with the people of the German Democratic Republic in order to express my great appreciation to them for their consistent, unconditional and generous support to the African liberation struggle and for their unfailing and effective cooperation with the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid.

For us in Africa, solidarity with the millions of people oppressed in South Africa, because of the colour of their skin, is an act of defence of our own independence and human dignity.

But the struggle in South Africa is of universal concern - for the issue is not the colour of the oppressors or the oppressed but the very fact of racism, an inhumanity which must be destroyed and uprooted if genuine peace and international cooperation are to be achieved.

Here,in the German Democratic Republic, you have learned from your own experience the consequences of Nazism and racism which brought about a catastrophe from which not only the so-called "inferior races" but even the German people suffered grieviously.

You have learnt from the tragedy and you have been inspired by the great anti-fascists of Germany. You have decided that Nazism and racism must be totally destroyed, never to rise again.

You have learnt from Karl Marx that labour under a white skin cannot be free so long as labour under a black skin is branded, and that no nation can be free which oppresses another.

Africa has suffered from German imperialism. It was in Berlin, almost a hundred years ago, that Africa was carved up by the then

imperialist powers. Ninety-nine years ago, Germany occupied Namibia and committed genocide in suppressing the resistance of the people. In the German Democratic Republic, you have not only discarded colonialism and racism, but have joined hands with those who are struggling to destroy these evils.

In the struggle against apartheid and racism, the cooperation between Africa and the German Democratic Republic, which have both learned from historical experience, has deep roots and can never be shaken or destroyed. I have, therefore, come to consult with the Government and organizations here on further action to rid the world of apartheid and thereby take a giant step toward the total abolition of colonialism and racism, and the preservation of peace.

It was thirty-five years ago yesterday - hardly three years after the end of the Second World War - that the Nationalist Party of South Africa, imbued with the inhuman ideology of Nazism, came to power. At that time, if the nations which had fought against Nazism, and which subscribed to the United Nations Charter, had joined to isolate and counter the Nazis of South Africa, the people of South Africa would have been spared enormous suffering. South Africa could have become a valued member of the community of independent African States. But the major Western Powers - enticed by the profits derived by interests from the exploitation of the black people, influenced by racist prejudices as well as short-sighted cold war calculations - not only failed to curb racism, but even developed amicable relations with the racist régime.

Three decades of pleading by the oppressed people and their friends, and untold atrocities of the racists, have not succeeded in persuading them even to cut off their links with that régime. As a result, we face today a very grave situation.

The South African racists have built an enormous military machine and even acquired nuclear capability. They are not only brutally oppressing the great majority of the South African people, but carrying on a war against the people of Namibia, and constant acts of aggression, destabilization and terrorism against neighbouring States.

While the heroic struggle of the oppressed people has greatly advanced, and the movement of solidarity with them has developed into a mighty force - even in Western countries - the danger has increased. The independence of African States, as well as international peace are at stake.

The cowardly attack on Maputo last Monday shows that the Pretoria régime is a dangerous outlaw. It must be destroyed before it precipitates a holocaust.

The Special Committee against Apartheid, in the twenty years of existence, has never had illusions of an easy victory in South Africa, as indeed Nelson Mandela recognized that there is "no easy walk to freedom" in his country. We were aware of the powerful forces to be overcome. But we had faith that the forces of progress are far more powerful than the forces of evil, if only they could be united into concerted action.

South Africa is a beautiful land, a miniature of the world with people of many races and many colours.

The Nazi rulers of South Africa are the enemies of all the people. Not only the black people and the people of Asian origins, but the democratic whites have been struggling and sacrificing to destroy apartheid and build a democratic society.

The alliance against apartheid today includes African and non-aligned States, socialist States, and some Western States, as well as public opinion all over the world. It includes trade unions, religious bodies, student and youth organizations, writers, artists and sportsmen, and many others. It includes those who

believe in peace, in human rights and indeed in the future of humanity. It is a formidable alliance.

But the main forces in the struggle are the oppressed people of South Africa and their great national liberation movements. Let us salute them and pledge them full support until the day of victory. Let us send our greetings of solidarity to Nelson Mandela, Herman Toivo ja Toivo and all other leaders in prison.

I pledge that the Special Committee will redouble its efforts, in solidarity with the national liberation movement, and with true and tested friends like the Government and the organizations of the GDR, and the Karl Marx University.

The struggle is hard because the racists are supported by powerful and greedy interests abroad. But with our unity and support, the fighting people of South Africa shall win.

V. TOAST BY MR.KURT SEIBT, PRESIDENT OF THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, AT A DINNER IN HONOUR OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, 27 MAY 1983

My country's government is pleased that you, Mr. Chairman, joined us for some of the events held during the Week of Solidarity with the Peoples in Southern Africa, Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Human Rights.

This UN-proclaimed Week is an occasion to step up the struggle to eradicate the criminal ideology and practice of colonialism, racism and apartheid and to undertake intensified activities in support of the peoples fighting for the achievement of their inalienable rights. The point is to mobilize all peace- and progress-loving forces and to enlist the cooperation of all States and governments in this endeavour.

It is particularly the dangerous situation in southern Africa that makes immediate action imperative. Day in and day out, Pretoria acts in defiance of world public opinion, countering all

efforts aimed at ensuring peace and stability in that region. The barbarous raid undertaken by South African warplanes against the capital of Mozambique and which has been condemned with anger and indignation everywhere in the world, has again highlighted the urgent need for stiff sanctions to be instituted against Pretoria.

The German Democratic Republic vigorously demands:
- an end to the apartheid régime's policy of racist-fascist terror;
- an end to the persecution and arbitrary arrest of upright African citizens;
- an end to "bantustanization" and to the incarceration of patriots like Nelson Mandela; and
- an end to the colonization of Namibia and to the exploitation of her natural and human resources.

My country's government urges that Botha's soldiery cease their undeclared war against Angola and other sovereign neighbouring countries and that the people of Namibia, whose territory has been used as a springboard for aggression, be granted their right to self-determination, freedom and national independence in accordance with the pertinent UN resolutions in their entirety, including Security Council resolution 435.

The fresh impetus provided by the Paris Conference on Namibia has confirmed us in the conviction that the scope of the most aggressive imperialist elements for their confrontation and all-out arms-building policy, which is also manifest in increasingly overt assistance to Pretoria, is limited, the line being drawn by the joint struggle of the peoples for peace and international security. This is valid in respect of Africa as much as of Europe.

As President of the GDR Solidarity Committee for many years, I have devoted a non-negligible part of my work to taking an

immediate part in this fight. I know how tough it is and how fiercely it is opposed by certain States. Still, it is my firm belief that our common cause - the elimination of racism in all its forms - will win the day and that the time will come when this outgrowth of imperialism's policy of oppression disappears from the face of our planet.

With that end in view, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Assistant Secretary-General, I wish you continued success in your responsible activities.

VI. REPLY TO TOAST BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AT THE DINNER HOSTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

I have already had occasion, in my many meetings with leaders of the government and public organizations, especially the Solidarity Committee, to convey my appreciation for the great contribution of the GDR to the struggle against apartheid and to the work of the Special Committee. I would now like, with your permission, to say a few words on some other matters.

The GDR is a very special country - a country whose motto is solidarity. It is through solidarity with the great majority of the people of the world struggling for their freedom from racism and fascism that it has developed its international status.

The Special Committee against Apartheid - in which your country is a member - is a very special committee. I can say this without any lack of modesty since I am referring to twenty years of its dedicated work. It is a committee of non-aligned, developing and socialist States - for no fault of ours. During the past two decades, it has taken thousands of decisions without a single vote. It has thus shown how much there is in common between non-

aligned and socialist States.It is, of course, a committee of diplomats following instructions from governments. But its work is above any so-called national interests and is consecrated to great moral issues.

It is a committee to deal with a unique and most abominable and dangerous form of racism which exists in one small country in the world. But it has learned from experience to become aware of the broader issues that affect the long and heroic and legendary struggle of the oppressed people of that country.

Above all, it is a committee which has faith in world public opinion and which attaches utmost importance to an alliance between the United Nations and the people of the world. Because of this it has had a great influence in the United Nations and outside. It has earned the love and affection of numerous people around the world - as I have found in all my missions.

We are, of course, painfully aware that we have a very difficult task ahead. But the achievement and the coalition we have built up give us confidence that we will succeed.

The GDR, as a member of the Special Committee, has made a valuable contribution to all this and I thank you.

My task as the Chairman of the Special Committee - at the request of all its members, including the GDR - is to obtain support of all governments and all peoples to the struggle for freedom in South Africa. I have already visited more than twenty countries for this purpose. My message is the same in every country - unity and concerted action by all decent men and women of the world to destroy the barbarity of apartheid and save peace in the regions.

This is in the interests of everyone, irrespective of ideologies and religion.

In South Africa we are confronted with a situation where racist beasts are callously killing innocent men, women and children -

even in neighbouring States. How does one deal with them? Not by appeasement of aggressors. Not by paying ransom to the criminals. It is necessary to fight with arms in hand, for the only way to true peace is armed struggle in Namibia and South Africa.

The Holy Koran teaches us: "In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Leave is given to those who fight because they are wronged, and surely God is able to grant them victory."

My friends, Karl Marx said that labour in a white skin cannot be free so long as labour in a black skin is branded.

What a profound truth!

What great humanism and what a prophetic vision!

In the land of Patrice Lumumba - the Congo, now renamed Zaire - there is a proverb which says: "A man is never counted twice because he is fat, or only half because he is lean."

Is that not the very essence of democracy and justice?

It is this age-old wisdom of the common people - and the scientific prophecy of Karl Marx - that guide us as we march together.

My dear friends, I am so moved by this visit to your country that I have much more to say. I would like, first of all, to express my satisfaction that I decided to visit you. As an African, I would also like to assure you that Africa will never forget the support of the GDR during the most difficult times of its struggle for freedom.

As a proverb from Uganda says: "The man who escorts you through the night wins your gratitude at daybreak."

The African elephant, as you know, never forgets.

VII. STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY ALHAJI YUSUFF MAITAMA-SULE, CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN THE CAPITAL OF THE GDR,BERLIN, 28 MAY 1983

Our visit to the German Democratic Republic is coming to a close.

We undertook this mission to join our friends in the GDR in the observance of the twentieth anniversary of Africa Liberation Day and both the GDR and the Soviet Union in the observance of the Week of Solidarity; to congratulate the GDR on the centenary of Karl Marx and the fifth centenary of Martin Luther; and to consult with governments and organizations in the GDR and the Soviet Union on further action for the liberation of South Africa.

Here in the GDR, we have been able to hold extensive discussions with the President of the People's Chamber, the Deputy Prime Minister, the President of the Solidarity Committee, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Vice-President of the Committee for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the Rector of the University of Leipzig, the Secretary-General of the Women's International Democratic Federation and many, many others, including the young pioneers at the Otto Nelte Secondary School in Berlin.

I am most satisfied with the results of the consultations and will report in due course to the Special Committee against Apartheid.

I would like to make some preliminary remarks on this occasion.

First of all, I am very moved not only by the generous hospitality of the GDR, but also by the opportunity to see with my own eyes the attachment of the people of the GDR to peace and to solidarity, especially with the struggling people of Africa.

Secondly, I am impressed by the unanimity of our views on the struggle against apartheid and on the need to promote widest support all over the world for the national liberation movements. This shows how much the African and non-aligned States and the socialist States have in common on this great moral issue of our time. I have been assured of continued and total support by the GDR in the important work of the Special Committee.

Thirdly, on the very day of our visit to the GDR, the South African racists launched a barbarous attack on the People's Republic of Mozambique, deliberately and callously killing innocent women and children with machine guns and rockets. This ghastly act of aggression and brigandage underlines that the South African regime is acting like the Nazis, and that the world must urgently help defend the frontline States. It must, in fact, increase all-round assistance to the national liberation movement to destroy the apartheid regime before it precipitates a wider conflict.

The attack by the South African racists against Mozambique is a violation of the basic tenets of international law and morality. If such acts are allowed to continue, the law of the jungle will prevail and peace will be in mortal danger.

The struggle against apartheid is, therefore, also a struggle for peace.

The killing of women and children in Maputo was not the result of faulty intelligence. It was a deliberate act to terrorize the country.

P. W. Botha and Magnus Malan must be branded as war criminals.

South Africa, as you know, threatened Mozambique when it was reported that Mozambique had obtained anti-aircraft missiles for defence. It launched a direct and open attack when its plots for destabilization of that country did not succeed - and when the

assassination in South Africa of the leader of the subversive movement in Mozambique, a Portuguese national, exposed its nefarious activities.

Only two years ago, you may recall, South Africa launched a large-scale aggression against Angola when it was reported that SWAPO received defensive radar. South Africa wants to destroy the defences of frontline States so that it can hold them to ransom and dominate the whole region.

The struggle against apartheid is, therefore, a struggle for the defence of Africa.

That is why we totally reject the so-called linkage between the independence of Namibia and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. The linkage is a manoeuvre to deprive Angola of its defence against occupation by apartheid. The Cuban troops have defended African freedom at a crucial stage, and Africa will not bid them farewell so long as the plot against Angola continues.

Southern Africa has become a focal point of the danger of war.

We know who enabled South Africa to amass the massive arsenal of military equipment, the technology, and the sophisticated machinery and materials for acquiring nuclear capability. We know who frustrated sanctions against South Africa for twenty-five years since the African People's Conference in Accra called for sanctions in 1948. We know who protected the racist régime from international action despite all its acts of aggression, terrorism, destabilization and genocide.

We must demand that collusion with the apartheid régime must stop.

We must appeal to public opinion in the Western countries to exert its influence to end the appeasement of the enemies of Africa, of freedom and of peace.

The non-aligned and socialist countries have not only a national duty to support the liberation struggle but an international duty to promote wider support to that struggle all over the world.

We are also aware of another focus of the danger of war in the Middle East - where also the law of the jungle is allowed to prevail - and of the close collaboration between Israel and South Africa. The Special Committee is organizing a conference in Vienna from 11 to 13 July to discuss the ramification of the unholy alliance between Israel and South Africa, and to decide on action to combat that alliance.

Above all, we cannot but be concerned that the recent aggravation of international tension - with its focus right here in Europe - has persuaded some influential elements to look upon the racist criminals of South Africa as their allies and friends.

As Chairman of the Special Committee, I do not wish to comment on the details of the proposals to secure a limitation of the arms race and to avert the danger of a nuclear conflict which poses a menace to the very survival of humanity. I will only note with satisfaction that the GDR and the Soviet Union have made a series of constructive proposals which deserve serious consideration and discussion.

We must always keep in mind that the ultimate objective is not a mere limitation of armaments. It is general and complete disarmament, the abolition of war and the utilization of scientific achievements in the service of mankind.

The developing countries are now confronted with an enormous burden of debt and are unable to fulfil the basic needs of their peoples. Their combined debt amounts to some 600 billion dollars which is equivalent to only one year's world expenditure on unproductive military budgets. If the burden of armaments is abol-

ished, we can envisage a glorious future for humanity.

We had hoped that the tragic experience of the Second World War had persuaded all States to abandon power politics. Unfortunately, our hopes have failed.

We need a powerful popular outrage against war and racism. We need a powerful popular movement to abolish from the vocabulary the language of power politics.

Let us have no more talk of nuclear first strike or nuclear second strike or massive retaliation or mutual deterrence, or negotiation from positions of strength. Let us find the common language of peace and brotherhood.

Let us have no more waste of human talents and resources to amass nuclear, chemical, biological and other weapons to annihilate the human race. For that is not only a crime against man but a crime against God. Let us instead cooperate to eliminate the hotbeds of war.

The city of Berlin is a monument that should constantly remind us that racism, fascism and war are an unpardonable crime against man and God.

I felt compelled to speak of the grave international situation not only because, as Chairman of the Special Committee, I am distressed at its ugly repercussions on the struggle for freedom in South Africa - but also because, as an African, as a Muslim and, above all, as a human being, I cannot be unconcerned over the madness of the arms race.

The great majority of the nations of the world are yearning to fulfil the basic needs of their billions of inhabitants - so that food, shelter, education and health become the right of every human being and are ensured by international cooperation. Let these hopes of humanity not be frustrated by hatred and conflict. Let us unite for peace, brotherhood and solidarity.

I have travelled to many countries of the world as Chairman of the Special Committee agaist Apartheid. The people in all countries yearn for peace - in Africa, in Asia, in Western Europe, in North America, and here in Eastern Europe. It is the duty of statesmen and of all leaders to translate this foremost aspiration of people into reality and to eliminate the hotbeds of war.

Two days ago, I visited Buchenwald - and I took a solemn pledge to devote my life and energy, in the name of God and man, to fight for peace and against racism.

I leave the GDR, therefore, not only with satisfaction at the result of our fruitful consultations but also with a new determination to carry on the struggle for humanity.

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